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Social Progress

A Year of Progress . . . . . TRYGVE LIE

Israel: Who Cares What? . . . . JOHN PAUL JONES

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DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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CONTENTS : OCTOBER, 1949

Articles PAGE

Message for World Order Sunday 1

Church World Service Clothing Drive 4

A Year of Progress, *by Trygve Lie* 5

The Point Four Program—
and the United Nations, *by Frederick C. McKee* 12

What Makes America Strong *by David E. Lilienthal* 15

Israel: Who Cares What? *by John Paul Jones* 25

The Real Danger—Fear of Ideas, *by Henry Steele Commager* 30

Editorial Comment

An Appeal to Faith 20

Sanctuary 36

About Books 38

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MESSAGE FOR WORLD ORDER SUNDAY

Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

Requested to be read in the churches on World Order Sunday, October 23, 1949.

WE ARE grateful to Almighty God for the abundant mercies shown this past year to the children of men. Fear, confusion of purpose, and the economic destruction left by the war have been lessened by constructive measures of co-operation within the United Nations and among the free societies. Tensions between the Soviet Union and the Western nations have been eased somewhat, and new, though limited, efforts to negotiate have been made. Fresh hope has stirred the hearts of anxious men, and released new energies of the spirit for the tasks ahead. For this present victory of peace, the churches of Christ rejoice.

We recognize the profound nature of the world's disorder. Modern man has come to rely upon physical force, and the bitter conflicts of modern times have eroded his trust in moral power. The world crisis is basically a spiritual and moral crisis, and no minor adjustment of international tensions, no respite, however welcome, can provide a lasting solution. Nothing less than a transformation of the spirit of men and of nations will suffice to heal this disorder. This means a larger sympathy, a broader understanding of other peoples and their particular problems, a deeper and more abiding sense of our responsibilities in the world, and a stronger will to fulfill them. That transformation by the grace of God must be the chief end of our efforts for peace.

We confess our involvement in the underlying crisis of society. We have underestimated the stubborn factors of conflict, and allowed our wills to vacillate with the ebb and flow of external events. We have been reluctant to chart our course by the light of faith, which alone can lead to man's spiritual regeneration. We need repentant hearts as we remember the fail-

ures of world order in which we have a share. Let us not forget, for example:

1. The failure of the major powers to agree upon a peace settlement for Germany or Japan.
2. The failure of the United States and other nations to deal effectively and humanely with the large number of remaining refugees and expellees left in pitiable condition by the war and its aftermath—a problem that increases in scope and danger week by week.
3. The perilous failure of the great powers to reach agreement on the multilateral regulation and reduction of armaments or to subordinate military strategy to constructive measures in national policy.
4. The failure of our own and other nations thus far to implement those principles of reciprocity which are so essential to international commerce and to world economic recovery.
5. The failure of the major powers effectively to help the suffering people of China to find peace within the framework of freedom.

While the problems and perils that lie ahead leave no room for complacency, we can thank God and take courage from achievements that surpass the merit of our efforts.

1. The principles of the United Nations, whose fourth anniversary we now celebrate, have been elevated by the expressed concerns of Christian groups working with other men of good will. Our churches have helped to create that loyalty to the ideals of the United Nations, which is its chief resource. It is heartening to see the impress of that loyalty in the positive accomplishments of the UN—in bringing about peaceful negotiation of a number of conflicts, in setting forth a historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in organizing the efforts of nations against such ancient enemies of man as poverty, ill health, and ignorance. Despite the tempests of this postwar period, the United Nations stands and grows as the only center for discussing, if not for harmonizing fully, the policies of states, as a means to fellowship, and as a bridge to a better future.
2. Our churches have helped to kindle the growing concern for the dignity and rights of the human person. The disregard for these God-given rights under totalitarian, feudal, and some colonial regimes has been laid upon the conscience of mankind. A new standard has been raised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, long advocated and now supported by our churches.
3. The analysis of Soviet-Western tensions and the principles for dealing with them put forward by our church leaders have been vindicated in part by the developments of recent months. Negotiation of conflicts

of interest without compromise of basic convictions remains a promising road to a peaceful settlement. This will require continuing patience and understanding, while at the same time we put forth the utmost effort to establish at home and abroad the conditions that make for a good life for all men.

4. The witness of our missionary pioneers has helped greatly to bring understanding of the need to aid the development of underdeveloped areas. This need is now recognized in the Point Four proposals of the President's Inaugural Address, to make "the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas," and in kindred plans of the United Nations. Our churches are concerned for programs such as Point Four and the European Recovery Program, both as a means for advancing the common welfare and as a method for creating fellowship among the co-operating nations. The experience of missionary specialists provides inspiration and practical guidance in the setting up of development projects.
5. The coming together of the churches in the living fellowship of the World Council of Churches provides a fresh testimony to God's design for his Church and for his world. Through this new unity, as it permeates the churches, we can expect the release of new spiritual resources with which to cope with future problems.

Building the foundations of world order is essentially a religious task. Christians should accept their responsibilities with clear vision, steadfast hearts, and vigorous action. As we enter the fifth year of the United Nations, let us in the churches pray that God's will may be done in the world of nations, and that we may serve his will.

1. **We can resolve to redouble our efforts in behalf of world order, remembering that each one has a contribution.**
2. **We can study and discuss the problems of the United Nations and of American foreign policy, that we may be more effective citizens.**
3. **We can express in community relations the high ideals we espouse for international life.**
4. **We can help find a home or a job for a displaced family.**
5. **We can strengthen our missionaries and other Christians overseas, that the Christian world fellowship may better serve as a bond of world community.**

Let us, in whatever ways are open to us, show forth that loyalty to Jesus Christ which may make him known to the peoples and nations of the earth.

"'As You Did It to One of the Least of These My Brethren, You Did It To Me'"

Presbyterian churches are encouraged to give immediate and full co-operation to Church World Service in its fall campaign for wearable used clothing for children and adults. Wearing apparel, bedding, and yard goods are still desperately needed by homeless millions in many parts of the world. Clothing needs are particularly acute in the Palestine area (see picture above), Greece, India, Pakistan, China, and Korea. Why not make your church a clothing collection center? Ask local merchants in your town to co-operate. Provide bins for receiving used clothing in the church and various sections of your community. Whatever you can do to help gather garments and bedding will be greatly appreciated.

Money is also needed for handling and shipping the clothing that is collected; and Church World Service is seeking a cash donation of 8 cents for every pound of clothing. For example, if a church gathers 100 pounds of clothing, it is asked to provide $8.00 to meet the actual shipping costs.

Church World Service warehouses, where material will be received, are located at:

7320 Compton Avenue, Los Angeles 16, California.
21 Eleventh Street, San Francisco 3, California.
New Windsor, Maryland.
568 First Avenue South, Seattle 4, Washington.
510 S. Elm Avenue, Webster Groves 19, Missouri.
601 South Olympia Street, New Orleans 19, Louisiana.
214 East 21st Street, New York 10, New York.

A YEAR OF PROGRESS

By **TRYGVE LIE**, *Secretary-General of the United Nations.*

During the last twelve months, the United Nations has intervened as a powerful influence for peace in conflicts affecting nearly one quarter of the world's population. Further, in almost every field of human activity it has developed international co-operation on a scale never attempted before. Here the secretary-general reviews the record and makes his suggestions for the future.

THE year between July 1, 1948, and June 30, 1949, has been, on the whole, a year of progress toward a more peaceful world. It is true that the world has had its full share of crises and alarms. Nevertheless, the fear of war has decreased since my last report was made. The breaking of the Berlin deadlock has been a main factor in achieving this result. The world has cause to be thankful for the constructive statesmanship of the great powers that made possible the agreement reached by the United Nations efforts at conciliation. This agreement has resulted in a promising renewal of negotiations on Germany and Austria.

United Nations action in other parts of the world has also contributed to the progress made toward a more peaceful world by either preventing or ending wars involving 500 million people. This action—in Palestine, in Kashmir, and in Indonesia—did not involve the use of military or police force; indeed the Security Council has no such force at its disposal. The only force used by the United Nations has been its moral force and its power of persuasion toward reasonable compromise and peaceful settlement.

It is noteworthy that in the cases mentioned above, involving almost one quarter of the total population of the world, the Security Council has operated with considerable success under its rule of unanimity in the most critical period of great-power tension. I do not mean to suggest that there have been no difficulties over the application of the unanimity rule. Nevertheless, so much has been said about the alleged paralysis of the Security Council and the consequent inability of the United Nations to prevent war that attention should be called to the record of the Security Council in these and in some other disputes.

The establishment of the state of Israel in Palestine without a major war is one of the epic events of history, coming, as it does, at the end not merely of thirty years, but of 2,000 years of accumulated sorrows, bitterness, and conflict. For Chris-

tian, Jew, and Moslem alike Palestine symbolizes historic forces beside which the present ideological conflict appears to be transitory indeed!

When India and Pakistan agreed to a United Nations cease-fire in the state of Kashmir, the 400,000,000 people of these two great countries, both newly independent, were spared the worst of all disasters—religious and communal warfare. In Indonesia, the United Nations has played a decisive part in efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia, and a peaceful transition to national independence of 70,000,000 Indonesians. More people live in these countries than in the whole of Europe, the continent on which such concentrated attention has been directed since the war ended.

Influence for Conciliation

When three of the great powers brought the Berlin question to the Security Council last September in a complaint against a fourth many people feared that this crisis would break up the United Nations and even lead to a new world war.

Neither of these things happened. Instead, moderating and conciliating forces were set in motion immediately. The nonpermanent members of the Security Council, under the leadership of its president, sought to bring about great-power agreement on a solution of the deadlock. The General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon the great powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences, and the president of the General Assembly and the secretary-general appealed to the great powers under this resolution to seek once again to reach agreement on the Berlin question. A committee of currency experts of the nonpermanent members, appointed by the president of the Security Council, in which a representative of the secretary-general participated, then sought to break the deadlock by means of a plan for a single currency for Berlin.

None of these efforts brought immediate results, but their effect was greatly to moderate the tension, reduce the danger of war, and gain time for other factors tending to a settlement to make themselves felt. In the end, the result was the resumption of great-power negotiations on the peace treaties after seventeen months of complete stalemate during which the Council of Foreign Ministers did not meet.

It is important that we should not miss opportunities for further progress toward peace in the months ahead because of any misunderstanding of the role of the United Nations in the prevention of war or in the face of "East-West" differences. Such misunderstanding, coupled with overemphasis on immediate as against long-range considerations, could lead to a succession of acts, or of failures to act, that

would end by relegating the United Nations to a second-class role in world affairs. I do not refer here to regional or bilateral pacts or alliances as such, the effect of which depends upon the spirit in which they are concluded and the spirit in which they are carried out. What I have in mind is, rather, a false conception of the role of the United Nations. Failures to live up to the obligations of the charter or to use the machinery of the United Nations fall in this category; genuine efforts to carry out the charter and to make full use of the machinery it provides can but strengthen the organization.

It is important to recall once more the basic premises of San Francisco. At San Francisco the founders of the United Nations agreed that peace could be maintained only by a universal organization founded on a universally accepted charter. They rejected the idea that anything less would do. They therefore laid the foundations of the United Nations in such a way as to include within it all the major forces at work in all parts of the world, not just in one part or another.

Contrary to misconceptions that have arisen since, it was never contemplated at San Francisco that the United Nations would or could abolish differences of interest and ideology such as we see in the world today. It was not believed that the great powers would always act in unity and brotherhood together. What the founders of the United Nations did believe was that the United Nations would make it possible to keep disputes between both great and small powers within peaceful bounds, and that without the United Nations this could not be done. Finally, they rejected the idea of an irreconcilable conflict that could be settled only on the field of battle, and proclaimed on the contrary the principle that all conflicts, no matter how fundamental, should and could be settled peacefully.

The Leadership of the United Nations

In the meantime the work of the United Nations has gone right ahead; it has stopped wars in different parts of the world; it has developed international co-operation in almost every field of human activity on a scale never before attempted.

The United Nations has proclaimed the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights in history; the history-making Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide has been approved unanimously and member states have been asked to ratify it.

Through the machinery provided by the charter, and in particular through the International Trusteeship System, the United Nations is assisting the progress of dependent peoples toward self-government.

The foundations of a world rule of law are being built by the deci-

sions and advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, by the work of the International Law Commission, and by the recommendations and conventions adopted by the General Assembly.

Through United Nations procedures of regional economic cooperation, effective assistance is being given to the countries of Europe, of Latin America, of Asia and the Far East toward the reconstruction and development of their economies.

One of the most heartening events of the year was the impetus resulting from the initiative taken by the United States of America for an expanded program of technical assistance for the economic development of the underdeveloped areas of the world, to be carried out wherever possible through the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

Wherever acute sufferings have resulted from international developments, the United Nations has endeavored to bring speedy relief through all the means at its disposal, particularly to those unable to rely for assistance and support on any single national community, such as the refugees and displaced persons in Europe, in Palestine, and in the Far East.

Although the economic and social work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is in its initial stages, millions of people in all parts of the world are already better off than they were before, because of the work done by the specialized agencies and commissions of the United Nations on problems of labor, health, nutrition, agriculture, education, refugees, child welfare, economic development and stability, finance and trade, control of narcotic drugs, and on many other related questions.

Without the United Nations, most of these activities could not have been undertaken, nor could the benefits from them be realized. Few of them have been seriously impeded, still less paralyzed, by the conflict between the great powers. Finally the tensions and other ill effects of

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"Dateline—Centerberg," a dramatic radio transcription featuring radio actor House Jameson, has been released by Church World Service to help Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches to raise the assurances needed to bring D. P.'s to America.

Directed by Frank Papp, NBC producer-director, the fifteen-minute drama is a story of a crusading newspaper editor and an ex-GI who is in love with a girl in Europe. Together they lead the town in a revolt against the town matriarch who opposes the entry of D. P.'s into her community. Mr. Jameson, long familiar to radio listeners as Sam Aldrich on "The Aldrich Family" program, plays the part of the editor.

"Dateline—Centerberg" was released in June and 188 pressings were sent out to radio stations and church groups that had ordered them in advance. **Urge your radio station to broadcast the transcription.** Pressings are available free of charge from Church World Service, 214 East 21st Street, New York 10, New York.

that conflict have been greatly alleviated by many of these United Nations activities.

The Problem of Unanimity of the Great Powers

It is in connection with the problems of implementing Article 43 of the charter, of controlling atomic energy and other weapons of mass destruction, and of regulating and reducing other armaments, that great-power differences have blocked any substantial progress. It is precisely here that unanimity of the great powers is essential. This unanimity would be just as necessary if there were not power of veto in the Security Council. There is no solution for such problems except by agreement among the great powers.

I think we must now recognize that in the past a somewhat misleading emphasis has sometimes been placed on the enforcement functions of the Security Council. These functions are important, and it is a great disappointment that Article 43, which provides for the placing of armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council, has not yet been put into effect. So long as this charter obligation remains unfulfilled the authority of the United Nations cannot be as great as it should be.

Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the experience of the past year has demonstrated that the primary instruments in the preservation of peace are those of peaceful settlement. In the words of the charter these are "negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements." In the use of such instruments the United Nations has already achieved substantial success.

In so far as the great powers are concerned, these instruments of peaceful settlement are the only ones that the Security Council can, in practice, employ. The unanimity rule applies to all decisions for enforcement action and even if there were no such rule, the situation would not be changed in substance. Enforcement action against a great power would not be police action, it would be war—in fact a new world war.

A new world war, conducted with the means now available, would bring the world only to destruction. No one system or ideology could prevail afterward, because there would be neither victors nor vanquished. There would be complete chaos.

To prevent a new world war from breaking out is the main reason for the existence of the United Nations.

It is important for the peoples of the world to face these facts and to understand that it is impossible to obtain lasting security from war by any arrangement that leaves out any of the great powers. While regional security arrangements may sometimes redress the balance of power

in the world, collective security can be achieved only by working out means by which all the great powers may live peacefully together under the charter, however long this process may take.

Two developments to which I wish particularly to refer are the rise of many peoples in Asia and Africa from a position of dependency toward one of equality, and the growing strength of the movement to extend the observance of human rights everywhere in the world.

If the importance of these developments were correctly assessed, I believe that the world would find it possible to approach the present "East-West" difficulties with less hysteria, for they would be more easily seen in their true perspective. I believe that the rise of dependent peoples and the human rights movement will, in the long run, have far more significance and give rise to greater events in the second half of the twentieth century than will the present ideological struggle.

The Rise of Dependent Peoples

India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon, all formerly dependent parts of the British Empire, have achieved independence by pacific transition since the United Nations was founded, due mainly to the high degree of statesmanship exercised by the Governments of those countries and of the United Kingdom.

The days of dependency or inferior status are fast coming to an end in Asia. Its peoples are the inheritors of some of the world's greatest cultures; they are building their own new worlds on the foundations of the old. The idea that all this vast diversity of ancient peoples stirring to new life and power could ever become the mere reflection of any form of society in other parts of the world is unrealistic.

In Africa the movement forward is slower. There the International Trusteeship System can play an especially important role, and the beneficial effect of United Nations supervision of the administration of the trust territories will be felt throughout the much wider area of the non-self-governing territories. The effects of the Trusteeship System will certainly give new impetus to the economic, social, and educational advancement of the peoples of these territories and to their progress toward self-government or independence.

The Human Rights Movement

In the struggle to extend the observance of human rights in the world, the past year has seen one of the most potentially significant developments of history in the proclamation by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This is the first time that such a declaration has been written for the whole world.

It is true that this declaration is

not a law, but neither have been many of the most influential documents of history. The United States' Declaration of Independence, and France's Declaration of the Rights of Man, were not laws when they were proclaimed.

Nevertheless, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has behind it the force of public opinion, and public opinion is at the source of all law whether it be national or international. The declaration sets a standard for governments to live up to. Its power for good is incalculable wherever people are deprived of freedom because of their beliefs, wherever there is discrimination because of the color of a man's skin or for any other reason, wherever people do not have a fair opportunity to enjoy a decent living standard, education for their children, and security in times of illness, accident, and old age.

There has been another development in the evolution of the United Nations in its formative years which I regard as an important reason for the growing strength of the United Nations. This is the evolution of the General Assembly into one of the strongest forces for peace that the world has ever seen.

There are three main causes for this evolution:

First, because all nations are represented equally, and because many of the small nations have from the first spoken with great independence, the General Assembly has tended to act as a conciliating and moderating influence on the conflicts of the great powers.

Secondly, because the attention of the world is focused on the General Assembly as on no other international body, its sessions have become the supreme testing ground of the policies of member nations. There, as nowhere else, those policies are subjected to the searching scrutiny and judgment of world public opinion. Evidence is already accumulating that when national policies do not pass this test for justice and fair dealing, they will have to be modified or changed.

Thirdly, the General Assembly has demonstrated that it can apply the powers granted it by the charter for conciliation and peaceful adjustment as a powerful complement to the work of the Security Council in the prevention of war.

I do not subscribe to criticisms of the General Assembly as a powerless debating society or as a propaganda forum. Most of the Assembly's recommendations are helping to build the foundations of world law and to prevent war. Whenever a Government uses the rostrum of the Assembly for propaganda purposes, that Government is submitting itself to the judgment of mankind.

We can be certain that the degree of security against war that is attained in the world will be in pro-

(Continued on p. 22)

THE POINT FOUR PROGRAM— AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By FREDERICK C. McKEE, *Treasurer of the American Association for the United Nations.*

As a result of two destructive wars to halt world-wide aggression the American people find themselves as the only nation with sufficient financial and industrial strength adequately to oppose the new Soviet military and ideological penetration.

Fortunately, we have realized that we cannot safely withdraw into a shell of isolationism and ignore what happens to the rest of the world, for our leadership is needed in the non-Communist world to insure its ultimate survival.

After tragic misinterpretation of Soviet policy which sacrificed the nations of eastern Europe, we are helping to save western Europe through Greek-Turkish aid, ERP, and the new Military Assistance Program. But in Asia a program of appeasement and inaction has lost two thirds of the population of China and threatens to lose all Asia unless our policy is changed to one of active co-operation with the anti-Communist elements.

We must either assume leadership of the forces of democracy or be left isolated as a final prey for Communism. This means that among other things we must contribute to the development of sound economic and social conditions in every country outside the Soviet sphere lest they become vulnerable to Communist penetration. Also, the economic prosperity of our own industrial machine, whose capacity was greatly increased during the war, depends on our ability to export great quantities of manufactured goods which the world needs but cannot pay for.

Heretofore, the wide gap between our exports and imports was made up by loans and ECA grants plus dollar balances accumulated in Latin America and other countries during the war. But with increased concern over taxes there is at least a political limit to how far we can go in balancing our export-import balance by grants even where they are largely in the interest of our own ultimate defense. Even with far-sighted stock-piling of strategic materials there is little chance of bringing imports up to exports in the foreseeable future.

Wanted—Capital for Foreign Investment

There remains but one adequate method of keeping our industrial machine going at full capacity and maintaining the export-import bal-

ance and that is by export of capital for foreign investment. By this method the people of Great Britain, although living on a relatively small island with limited natural resources, were able to attain a high degree of prosperity. They were forced into their present sad plight by the destruction of two world wars and the confiscation of a great part of their foreign investments.

Prior to World War II, the American experience in foreign investments was not so fortunate as the British, partly because the British could safeguard their investments in their colonies and the dominions, and partly because their investment bankers were more conservative on the whole than those Americans who promoted Latin American, German, and similar bonds in the twenties.

Our record of foreign investments in general is not very good. There have been many instances of repudiation or near confiscation by change of governments in foreign countries and, on the other hand, examples of exploitation and bribery of officials of small nations. Only the largest corporations with diversified holdings can risk foreign investments, with the result that since V-J Day almost all the American investments abroad have been confined to the major oil companies.

The President's Point Four proposals for technical and economic aid to backward areas are a most important step toward the improvement of the economic and social conditions of their inhabitants so that they will not be vulnerable to nondemocratic ideologies. But in most cases the full use of technical aid requires the investment of capital, and today there is no major source of such capital except the United States. Since we cannot afford to give sufficient amounts in the form of national grants to meet this need for development, the only alternative is to make foreign investment sufficiently attractive to secure private capital. Here the problem is generally not one of profits but one of security.

How Can American Investments Be Safeguarded?

In the past, the injured corporation generally appealed to the United States Government for protection, resulting in the era of dollar diplomacy and the charges of imperialism which were frequently merited. Today we have a safeguard in the United Nations, whereby both the rights of the investing corporation and the rights of the inhabitants of the foreign country could be mutually protected against breach of contract. After the American corporation and the foreign country had worked out a contract, they could mutually request the United Nations to act as trustee for the contract very much as a corporation, when planning to sell a bond issue to the public, will ask a trust

company to be trustee of the mortgage indenture protecting the bondholders.

If either the corporation or the foreign country later believed that the other party was not observing the provisions of the contract, it could ask the trustee, the United Nations, for an interpretation of the contract and mediation of the dispute. If mediation failed, either party could carry the dispute to the International Court.

If the corporation were found to be at fault, the International Court could recommend that the authorities of the nations involved take suitable action to collect damages, or enforce compliance in accord with its decision. If the foreign country were found to be at fault and failed to comply with the decision of the International Court, the United Nations would refuse to act as trustee under any new contracts until the old default was cleared up; and as a final measure United Nations would ask for economic sanctions by all member nations against the guilty nation.

Such a procedure would avoid the charges of real or fancied imperialism that occur when a single nation enters into the disputes of its citizens with another nation. It would avoid the frequent situation where, after a palace revolution, the new Government repudiates a former contract with a foreign investor either in whole or in part. By reducing the potential loot, it would tend to discourage such revolutions, particularly those financed from sources outside the country.

On the other hand, it would help to avoid exploitation of weaker nations and their inhabitants by lessening the danger of bribery of public officials by corporations seeking unfair privileges at the expense of the local inhabitants. The United Nations would, of course, refuse to act as trustee for a contract that was unfair or not in the general world interest. A special division could be set up in the United Nations to handle this activity and adequate fees could be paid for initial and subsequent services when required, as to a corporate trustee.

With the United Nations as mediator, we could avoid many of the disputes that have developed serious international tensions and even wars.

In spite of our great present prosperity as compared to the rest of the world, we are rapidly using up many of our natural resources and are already dependent on outside sources for at least sixteen important strategic materials.

We must combat Communism throughout the areas not yet under Soviet domination by creating conditions under which free enterprise and private investment can operate and expand. It would appear that this can best be done by utilizing the full potentialities of the United Nations.

WHAT MAKES AMERICA STRONG

By **DAVID E. LILIENTHAL**, *Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission. Excerpts from speech delivered at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, June 5, 1949.*

I SPEAK to you today about this country we all love so deeply, about the sources of her strength. And the theme of what I shall say to you is simply this: *It is in the spirit of America that our great strength is found*, that the foundation of the Republic is the moral sense of her people, a sense of what is right and what is wrong, that the faiths we hold are the chief armament of our democracy.

There are those who take quite a different view. I refer to those Americans who have been bewitched by the atomic bomb. They see that we now have a weapon of fantastic power; they know that because of recent progress we are today far ahead of the whole world in the further development of this revolutionary weapon. They choose to believe—these bewitched and jumpy men—that the real power of America is to be found in the possession of this powerful instrument of destruction. Our American problems are so great that they refuse to face them. Instead they throw themselves into the protective arms of a mysterious bomb.

I would be perhaps the last one in this country to make the mistake of underestimating the destructive power of the atom bomb. One who lives with atomic weapons night and day, as I do, is not likely to depreciate them.

But neither the atomic weapon nor any other form of power and force constitutes the true source of American strength. Nothing could be farther from reality, nothing could be more dangerous to the future security of our nation or the peace of the world, than this myth.

For if we embrace this escape from reality, the myth of the atomic bomb, we will drift into the belief that we Americans are safe in the world because we have this devastating weapon—this and nothing more. We will then tend to relax, when we need to be eternally vigilant.

The myth will cause us to fall into an even deeper pit of error. We will grow forgetful of the true sources of America's strength. We will be misled into believing that America can be strong by military force alone, when in truth the foundation of our strength and amazing vitality is not in material things but rather in the spirit of this nation, in the faiths we cherish.

We are a people with a faith in

each other—and when we lose that faith we are weak, however heavily armed. We are a people with a faith in reason, and the unending pursuit of new knowledge—and when we lose that faith we are insecure, however heavily armed. We are a people with a faith in the free inquiring mind, in keeping pure and politically undefiled the precious waters of independent thinking. We are a people with a faith in God, with a deep sense of stewardship to our Creator, the Father of us all; and when that is no longer strong within us we are weak and we are lost, however heavily armed with weapons—even with atomic weapons—we may be.

To carry the burdens of world leadership that now rest upon us we need strength in great measure. That strength I believe we have; but it is not the strength only of force or of power, but of the spirit, a strength nourished by those ethical and moral precepts that have become a part of the living tissue of everyday life in America. It is these ethical principles and religious faiths that distinguish and exemplify the spirit of American democracy.

Generally speaking, it is not a good idea for an individual to think too much about himself. He can become so occupied with just how his digestion is getting along that merely fussing about it will get it out of fix.

I have a feeling that much the same thing applies to nations, and particularly to a nation as healthy and high-spirited as the United States of America. But some national self-examination is, at this juncture in world events, wholesome. The eyes of the world's people are upon us these days. Everything we do (and a good many things we don't do) and much of what we say, in this wonderfully talkative and uninhibited land of ours, occupies the attention of hundreds of millions of people.

We in America no longer say to the rest of the world, "Our way is good enough for us; please go away and don't bother us with your problems." Upon a world-wide stage we stand today as the exemplars and the active protagonists of certain heroic principles of human life. About these we feel so deeply that we are prepared to stake everything upon keeping them alive and flourishing.

We assert that the principles by which we live are basically opposed to, and demonstrably superior to, Communism. Communism is a modern version of an ancient form of tyranny over men. It has, in one of its forms, destroyed the German and Japanese people. It now threatens the peoples of all Europe and Asia.

The anxious peoples of the world are bedeviled and often confused by many voices in their own lands, telling them just what America is like, what our motives are. The confusion abroad is natural enough. But we should take care that we ourselves

do not get confused about the sources of our strength.

A hundred years ago Walt Whitman used to wander along the Atlantic seaboard celebrating America. In words that ring he told his countrymen of the great strength and vigor and beauty of America.

I wish Walt Whitman were alive today to continue his immortal song. We need to talk about what a wonderful land and people we are. We must not allow ourselves to develop a kind of national jitters. We do face danger, there is no doubt about that. But jitters and long faces at a time of danger are not in the American tradition. The pioneers who settled America met danger with steady nerves and sure hands; from their trials they gathered strength. Another trial must now be met: a world-wide propaganda assault upon our democratic way of life, and with it a long period of tension, and alarms, and provocation. It is a time again for steady nerves. These are times for sense, not sensationalism.

We do have weaknesses, and they must be carefully assessed, but it is also important to remember and to tell ourselves again and again how strong we are, and the source of that strength.

America is today the first nation of the world. There is not even a close second. We have become the first nation by almost every measure one can apply.

First in productiveness—in more telephones, more steel, more food, more chemicals.

First in a military sense.

First in the conditions of human life: the best medical care, the best fed and clothed and housed people on earth.

First in freedom for our citizens: the freest by all odds to criticize our Government, our Congressmen or President or Atomic Energy chairman, or our grocer, or our employer.

First in spirit: the most generous people anywhere in their treatment of others less fortunate.

First in the sense of responsibility for the peace of the world: one of the least narrowly nationalistic of any big nation in all history.

First of the peoples of the world in strengthening the instruments that discourage aggression and promote the peace. And among those instruments of peace that we strengthen are two of different kinds —on the one hand, a stock pile of atomic weapons, and on the other the United Nations and the European Recovery Program.

What is the source and the foundation of this American strength? The answer most commonly heard is, Our economic system. The "system" is variously referred to as the capitalistic system, or the system of free enterprise or some similar expression. But neither this nor any other answer in economic terms can explain our basic vitality.

The basic source of the strength

of American civilization does not lie in an "economic system." The wellsprings of our vitality are ethical and spiritual. Our society in America is founded not upon the cold and bloodless "economic man" of the Marxist, but upon a faith in man as an end in himself. We believe in men not merely as production units but as the children of God. We believe that the purpose of our society is not primarily to assure the "safety of the state" but to safeguard human dignity and the freedom of the individual. I judge that we are not ready to "trade in" this luminous concept of a people's purpose for the notion that the America of the Bill of Rights, of Thomas Jefferson and Susan B. Anthony and Justice Holmes and Abraham Lincoln, is simply a highly productive economic system.

What we have, actually, is not a system at all, but almost its opposite, that is, a society of the greatest imaginable diversity and flexibility, taking things as they come, deciding how to handle situations by the facts of each situation. The only way in which it can be said to be a "system" is to say that our "system" is to have no system.

The vitality of our distinctive institutions of production and distribution of goods ultimately depends not upon rigid and fixed economic principles or political dogma but upon ethical and moral assumptions and purposes.

Our unparalleled productivity and standard of living are not the consequence of an economic system, but rather the other way around. Our flourishing economic life is the consequence of our ethical and moral standards and precepts—of our democratic faith in man.

We have ethical guidelines in this country. We have developed rather highly a sense of what is right and what is wrong, of what is fair and decent, and of what is just crude use of arbitrary power. We can be fooled for a time by the cheap headline hunter, or political head-hunter. Sometimes we are slow to repudiate cynical disregard of our moral standards, but they are always there —the foundation of our buying and selling, our hiring and firing, our political and financial institutions.

I myself don't see how our kind of society could flourish in any other way. A highly interdependent country, one capable of producing more than 250 billion dollars' worth of goods a year is too complex for rigid planning and the enforcement of detailed plans by law. We function in a flexible, informal way, under sanctions that are largely ethical and moral, based upon commonly accepted standards of fair play and respect for human integrity.

We ourselves should be very clear about American fundamentals as we move into the most fateful role we have ever played in world affairs. For our leadership in large part de-

pends upon our continued capacity to demonstrate how superior, in human terms, is our way of living.

There are many illustrations of our prime concern for ethics, for the spiritual rather than the material. There is, for example, our belief in the value of criticism of public officials, or, for that matter, officials of auto companies or auto unions—or anything else. Something tells us this is right, and stifling criticism is wrong. Before the people would approve the Constitution this principle had to be put into the Bill of Rights. But that alone wouldn't insure the right of free criticism, if we didn't believe it deeply in our hearts.

What the Constitution or laws provide about encouraging criticism and not suppressing criticism and free speech and free press and free conscience is not so important as what the spirit of the people provides.

The song of America is more than one of steel and oil and automobiles, more than of material things. We have a solidarity, a unity of spirit and purpose that we can brag about. We can boast with truth that nowhere on the face of the earth in any period of human history has there been a vast nation less cursed with deep class divisions. Nor has there ever been a nation in which the different national and racial groups have been so readily assimilated.

But this isn't all. What is most important is that in America what is right matters to the average citizen, and the truth matters. A man's reputation as a truthful and kindly human being means more in the long run than anything else. Compare this standard with that of the countries where there is a premium on lying and brutality.

The song of America is a song of great horizons; of "a new order of the ages"; of a new way of life under the sun. We can boast that in the United States we have created the most majestic concepts of the objects of human society that any people has ever dedicated itself to. Hear them again: "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; "Government of the people, by the people, for the people"; "We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all men are created equal"; "One nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." We in America have no need for the slogans of other lands when on our banner and in our hearts are inscribed such imperishable cries of the human spirit as these.

Faith in these great moral principles, not fear, is our rock and our salvation. Not fear nor force, but faith—faith with works.

With faith in each other, with faith in reason, with faith in our Creator we shall, I deeply believe, make the new discoveries of the atom serve human betterment and the Kingdom of God.

An App

UNITED NATIONS DAY, OCTOBER 24, 1949

THE United Nations' impressive record of achievement is presented in Secretary-General Trygve Lie's report carried in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. These positive accomplishments are not matters of such general knowledge as the apparent impasse reached in some political issues such as the control of atomic energy and of conventional armaments. However, the bare listing of the areas of political conflict in which the UN has won solutions or advanced them by its moral power and authority is impressive. To recall a few, the UN record in Syria, Iraq, Greece, Korea, Indonesia, Kashmir, and its part in bringing together the disputants in the Berlin blockade, while not in each instance satisfactorily concluded, are part of a very encouraging four-year history. And when we consider the record in the social and economic fields as reviewed by Mr. Lie, we appreciate the great cause for thanksgiving and prayer we have in the United Nations. It is incorrect and harmful to judge the UN a "brawling cockpit" or a "weak infant." The UN is the great political institution of our time, holding the world together in the midst of ideological and power storms that threaten our destruction. Let us devote United Nations Day and Week to the most earnest prayer that God will bless this assembly of the nations.

THE ABSOLUTE WEAPON

SCIENTISTS and military men are not generally agreed that the A-bomb is the "absolute weapon." This disagreement, however, is not due either to a reduction in the destructiveness of the bomb or in a reduction in the number of casualties reported in the Japanese cities. Because of improvements in the A-bomb since Hiroshima, its power has been increased by a factor of ten; and the recent report by the mayor of Hiroshima increases the number of the casualties of one atom bomb from 220,000 to 240,000—men, women, and children. That the targets of the first atom bomb attack were cities and the victims noncombatants assures us that bombs will be used, in the end as in the beginning, against the great cities of the world. There is general agreement that the A-bomb is pre-eminently the weapon for strategic bombing—a euphemism for "area" or "terror" bombing. Strategic bombing with A-bombs will be appallingly more efficient in destroying cities, poisoning the fields and rivers, and annihilating the peo-

ple of the enemy than even the most savage campaigns in Israel. Saul needed such a weapon in his battle with the Amalekites to "utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."

Many of us recall that we, in more tender years, had difficulty reconciling such violence with the mercy of God even in Saul's day. The conflict is not made easier for those who have looked on Christ and receive him as Saviour and Lord. Of much graver concern than the question of whether or not the bomb is an "absolute weapon" because of its physical destructiveness is the moral problem faced by any people preparing to use such a weapon. What cause is so noble, so just, so holy, that it can mount the destruction of so many innocents in its defense and yet itself survive—so noble—so just —so holy? Can the just live by the bomb?

"TAKING THE SHIELD OF FAITH"

WE MUST learn before it is too late that there is an "absolute weapon" and that it is not the A-bomb. It was known to our fathers; and in so far as they employed it, they were invincible. The deeds of some of them are celebrated in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews: "Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, . . . out of weakness were made strong." This is still the victory—even our faith.

Now, faith is not simply a creedal formula to be memorized and recited, but a way of life to be demonstrated. It certainly includes the proposition that evil can be overcome by good—and can be overcome *only* by good. The Christian must decide what "good" means and formulate a foreign policy to reveal it. Does it include a strategy of "containment," policies of a "cold war," measures just "short of war"? If these measures are consistent with the "good," do they exhaust the possibilities of the "good" that we are to do our enemy? Or is it possible that other measures, requiring even a venture of faith by the release of trade and free movement of people, represent the implementation of our faith? If we have faith informed with knowledge and shown in our works, it will be said this was the generation that "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness."

—Paul Newton Poling.

A Year of Progress

(Continued from page 11)

portion to the support that is given by the member Governments.

The member Governments can reduce the danger of war by so acting as to strengthen and to use the United Nations in a number of ways in the months ahead. In this connection I have certain suggestions that I offer for their consideration.

Great Power Relations

The United Nations cannot force a settlement of the present conflict between the great powers, but it has already demonstrated that it can help to conciliate the conflict, moderate it, and keep it within peaceful bounds. It is essential for the great powers to keep in contact, to talk things over, and seriously to negotiate with one another. To refuse such consultations as futile is to deny the whole concept of the United Nations. Now that the Western powers and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have resumed discussions in the Council of Foreign Ministers and have expressed their intention of continuing them at the time of the coming session of the General Assembly, I hope that they will not again break off their efforts to settle their differences.

Sooner or later there must be peace settlements for Germany, Austria, and Japan. There must be agreement on the provision of armed

Members of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights preparing for a meeting at Lake Success.

forces to the Security Council, on the control of atomic energy and other weapons of mass destruction and of conventional armaments. It is necessary to keep on trying for progress in these directions, no matter how discouraging the prospect may appear to be at any particular moment or how many years it may take to complete the task.

United Nations Field Service

With a view to strengthening the work of mediation and conciliation I suggested to the last session of the General Assembly the establishment of a United Nations Guard. This Guard would have no military duties but would assist United Nations missions on their peaceful errands to the world's troubled areas. In the light of suggestions made by member Governments I have modified that proposal. I have now suggested to the Special Committee established by the General Assembly to examine this matter the establishment of a uniformed United Nations Field Service of three hundred men, who would be seconded or otherwise made available, on a basis of geographical distribution, from the services of member Governments for a period of from one to three years for protective and technical duties both at headquarters and in the field. I have also suggested the creation of a panel of two thousand men who could be called upon for truce observation and plebiscite duties by the competent United Nations organs as the need arises. None of the men in the Field Service would carry arms, except side arms for self-protection when this was deemed necessary. Under the revised plan the cost to the organization would be kept to a minimum, while the advantages of the original proposal would be retained.

Italian Colonies

The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The question will come before the fourth regular session of the General Assembly this autumn.

The debate in the third session brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The best solution, in my opinion, would be a direct United Nations trusteeship with an administrator responsible solely to the Trusteeship Council. It is, of course, for the member Governments to decide, but I feel sure that such a bold forward step would help the peoples of the territories concerned to follow the peaceful path toward self-government or independence, and that it would strengthen the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Na-

tions and its member Governments participating in the solution.

Peace for the Near East

The Near East presents a challenging opportunity to the United Nations to combine political and economic action for lasting peace.

An armistice has been achieved in Palestine, and the terms of a peaceful settlement are being negotiated. Nine hundred thousand Arabs are receiving assistance from the United Nations; many of them must be resettled or repatriated. The new state of Israel has yet to establish its economic viability. Both Israel and the Arab states need a substantial, co-ordinated effort in economic development to raise their living standards.

I believe that this area should be given high priority in the proposed United Nations program of technical assistance for underdeveloped countries. This would make it possible for comprehensive plans to be worked out for regional economic development on a large scale in the whole area; these plans might include river valley developments, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States, in respect of the valleys of the Tigris, and of the further development of the valley of the Nile. The first step is technical assistance; the next is financial investment. By carrying out both steps through the United Nations the burdens as well as the benefits can be shared equitably among participating countries.

Universality of Membership

The applications of fourteen countries for membership in the United Nations are pending. These are, in the order of their applications, Albania, Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Jordan, Portugal, Ireland, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Korea, and Nepal. Most of these countries have been waiting for more than two years to be admitted.

Member Governments are familiar with my views on the desirability of moving as rapidly as possible toward universality of membership. I have expressed them on several occasions during the past three years. I am well aware of the objections that have been raised against the admission of these states, but I believe that such objections could be better dealt with if the applicants were inside the organization rather than outside it. Whatever may be said regarding the Governments of the countries concerned, their peoples, and the world as a whole, would certainly benefit if all the applicants were to be admitted.

I commend to the member Governments, and to the peoples of the world, the study of the full record. It records achievements in the prevention of war and in the construction of the foundations of a more peaceful and prosperous world.

ISRAEL: WHO CARES WHAT?

By JOHN PAUL JONES, D.D., *minister of Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, New York.*

THE *1949 Encyclopædia Britannica Book of the Year* gives little space to the story of a new nation formally proclaimed on May 14, 1948, in Tel Aviv. But that was a momentous day, perhaps no less for Christians than for Jews. History may deem it, to quote the British historian James Parkes, "a turning point in human society." It matters a great deal with what understanding we look upon the new state. Ideas, indeed, have consequences—erroneous ideas as well as others. Contradiction and violence characterize many opinions regarding Israel; controversy and confusion result. Better to forego the luxury of an opinion than hold tenaciously to one shorn of adequate knowledge and reflection.

The story behind the culmination of the May 14 proclamation is long, complex, and some of the chapters are blurred and incomplete. Possibly some parts of the story are lost and will never be found. The primary question, however, is simple: Has Israel a moral justification born of history and necessity, or is it a successful and clever aggression? Are we to meet it with a hearty, though not uncritical, co-operation, or look upon it as a misfortune to be endured until it can be overcome or recovered. The only middle ground is the untenable one of indifference.

The argument that Zionism has resulted in untold suffering to unnumbered innocent people, countered by the claim (valid and demonstrable) that it has brought life, hope, and amazing vitality to innumerable others, points to no conclusion except that tragedy is inextricably bound up with existence. Conflict is our human lot, and seldom, if ever, do we witness the clean-cut antagonism of right against wrong. Certainly in the conflicts of peoples and nations the right are always partly wrong and the wrong partly right. It is even so in Palestine, with Zionism and its opponents, whether motivated by principles, tradition, prejudice, or fear. This important reality must ever be kept in mind. It is nowhere more starkly in evidence than in the whole history of Palestine.

The formal, legal, and determining factors that led to the modern state of Israel are of recent origin, historically speaking. In the turmoil of the First World War Jewish spokesmen, mostly European, with a wide and impressive backing among their people, also mostly in Europe

—and especially eastern Europe—secured the consent and approval of the British Government for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. This was formally approved by the League of Nations and individually by many Governments, including the United States. Palestine, separated from the rest of the Middle East for the first time in the modern era, was made a British mandate, the right of Jewish immigration specifically stated and the prerogatives of Jewish autonomy in civil affairs guaranteed. The basic document was the famous Balfour Declaration, unfortunately vague or silent on other vital matters, particularly as to the manner in which the rest of the population, wrested from Turkish rule, were to be governed and related to their Jewish neighbors.

The British and French had, in a declaration of war aims, assured the people of the Middle East of the determination to secure the "complete and definite emancipation" from Turkish rule and promised the right of the liberated peoples to a free choice of governments as desired by the "indigenous populations" (an illusive phrase). The Balfour Declaration also pledged noninterference with the "civic and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The actual result, however, in Palestine was a period of direct British rule of the non-Jewish population side by side with an indirect rule of the Jewish national home. While the Balfour Declaration was drawn up as if Palestine were exclusively an Arab country (this being the general, but erroneous, assumption prevalent in the West) the non-Jewish population regarded it as a threat to their majority status and rejected it from the first. There were notable individual exceptions, such as Faisal and the Syrians in 1919.

It is no wonder that in the end the Mandate proved unworkable, or that in the early days, with nobody satisfied, the British were more successful in protecting the new Jewish community than in solving the problems of the rest of the land. Open rebellion of the Arabs within ten years severely menaced the Jewish community and weakened the British administration. In the meantime the Jewish Agency, by no means enlisting the interest or approval of all Jews, nevertheless firmly established one of the most remarkable achievements of modern times.

In the twenty-five years before the Mandate, which for all practical purposes dates from 1920 although it was not official until 1923, thousands of Jews had already gone to Palestine under the impetus of renewed Zionist activity flowing from the first Congress of 1897. Until a few years before that time Jews going to Palestine were mostly pilgrims or pious elderly people who wished to die in the land of their

ancestors. But in 1920 there were 75,000 or more in the Jewish community, one fourth of them farmers, the remainder mostly in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Safed, and other cities, intent on building a civilization on the basis of their heritage but adapted to modern times. In less than ten years following 1920 the community numbered 165,000. Immigration was more or less steady but in modest proportions. Few people expected it to be otherwise. The philosophy of the days of the "war to end war" and the new "Parliament of Man," the League of Nations, had been scrupulous to define and guarantee minority rights and encourage the Jew to expect what he had never yet possessed in Europe or Asia—first-class citizenship and security in the land of his birth whatever it was. So with the help of the Jewish National Fund—world-wide in scope and resources—Palestine received the thousands of immigrants yearly, carefully reclaiming land (always purchased, often under difficulties of native intransigence and uncertain titles), building cities and villages, and developing a modern educational, cultural, industrial, and political life. But once again persecutions began in eastern Europe and the Balkans. Hitler rose to a menacing influence and then to power in Germany. Immigration increased by leaps and bounds. In the late thirties Tel Aviv was a city approaching 200,000 and the total Jewish population was threatening to outnumber the half million non-Jews, already considerably augmented by many thousands more who found it quite desirable to live within, or on the periphery of, a modern Jewish civilization. An altogether new dynamic had come to the Near East. Palestine had something that it had never known in all the days of its life. And for the world it was new also. In the static Near East a whole people looked up! Sanitation, health, life without degrading poverty and squalor. Venereal disease was practically nonexistent, and the flourishing all-Jewish Tel Aviv had no jail!

Upon all this the rulers of the surrounding territory looked with increasing uneasiness, alarm, and distaste. For centuries the great majority of the people of Palestine like their neighbors had been Arabic-speaking Moslems with little change in their ways of life from generation to generation. A hundred years ago there was probably less than one non-Moslem in ten in the population and the Jews were but a small proportion of that minority. Palestine had come to be thought of as an "Arab" country along with the Middle East generally. But such all-inclusive and indiscriminate usage of the word "Arab" dates from the nineteenth century; and it was used in the sense of uniting Christians and Moslems in contrast to the Jew, from the period of the First World

War. The Arab conquest of Palestine in the seventh century after Christ can hardly establish an exclusive claim to the country especially when it is realized that many of the so-called "Arabs" in Palestine in 1947 were descendants of Jews and Christians "converted" by the Moslems in those early days. Actually the Middle East and Palestine contained the strains of many racial groups. But it was natural in the present situation for the so-called Arabic world to fear and resent the mass immigration of Jews, especially from Europe under the aegis of European powers. For nationalism, on the rise everywhere, did not leave the Middle East untouched. The rulers of Palestine's neighboring states cared little for the welfare of their subjects and they were divided by deep-rooted jealousies and antagonisms; but they were inspired by a common determination to free their lands of European control. To a considerable extent also nationalism meant increasing intolerance of Christians and Jews. When England and France were slow to redeem their promise of war days Syria, Iraq, and Egypt hastened the process by strikes, riots, and open warfare. The same tactics were a constant temptation in support of the protest against the "aggression" of the Jewish national home, first against the mandatory power and then against both Britain and the Jews.

Realizing some of the blunders in their original handling of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, the British tried hard to soothe Arab feelings. They proposed a local legislative council, an Arab agency, and other forms of co-operation, but to no avail. The Jewish leaders themselves, accustomed to compromise and from the beginning committed to amity and interdependence with the Arabs, began to think in terms of a genuine binational equality after the destructive riots of 1929 revealed the serious threats to the whole Zionist enterprise. There were Arabs also willing to see some sort of a national entity embracing all the peoples of the land. But their council did not prevail and the Mandate Government more and more resorted to a policy of repression against Arab pressure and terror. Commissions sought for a solution of the conflict and British policy changed after the Hope Simpson report in 1930. That report indicated that there was no more spare land for Jewish settlement and connected Arab unemployment with Jewish immigration. The British Government accepted this report and began to look at the Jewish national home as a minority problem, with a view to restricting immigration. This produced consternation in Jewish circles and satisfied nobody.

Before long, five Arab parties were demanding a "democratic parliament" by which their superior

numbers could check the Jewish menace before too late. The Jews continued to believe they were in Palestine by right and not on sufferance. The Jews of Europe were fast entering into a desperate condition. They had to have a place to go and they kept on going to Palestine, the only place open to them. With the gradual deterioration of the Mandate authority there existed for years an atmosphere of smoldering hostility, punctuated by periodic violence. To make matters worse Mussolini and Hitler began to woo the Arab countries! The Jews organized armed defense squads on a quasi-legal basis while the Arabs organized strikes and guerilla bands.

Paradoxically the Arab peasants, villagers, and townsmen within the bounds of the Jewish national home, or on its borders, lived in relatively peaceful and friendly co-operation with the newcomers, knowing little and understanding less of the mounting turmoil. Not infrequently they could be counted on to warn the outlying Jewish settlements of impending attacks by marauding bands of their own kinsmen recruited from areas distant to the national home. Thus, in spite of adversity without and the common lot of problems within, the Jewish venture made its steady advance. The British were slow to repudiate their original promises yet their control lessened in spite of new roads, better communications, and fortifications. In 1939 the British Government proclaimed the end of unlimited immigration. A war of survival loomed on the horizon, and Britain needed the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of the Middle East. It also needed their oil and the products of their farms and factories. A ruthless expediency which is the essence of war took command. When the guns began to blaze on the continent the sea lanes were more difficult and the overland route to Palestine was blocked by His Majesty's Government decree closing the Turkish border. Legal immigration to the Jewish national home dropped to a thin trickle at a time when no place to go meant torture and death to the European kinsmen of the Jews in the homeland. And in the evening after his day's work was done a citizen of Tel Aviv could brood on his anguish while his radio brought the voice of some Arab extremist telling him that what was happening in Europe might soon find its counterpart nearer home.

Note: ***The second installment of Dr. Jones's report on Palestine will appear in the November issue of*** **Social Progress.**

THE REAL DANGER—FEAR OF IDEAS

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Professor of History at Columbia University, and the author of* America in Perspective *and other works.* *Used with permission of* The New York Times Magazine.

FOUR times in our history we have given way to fear of ideas and indulged in measures of suppression and oppression.

The first example occurred in the 1790's and early 1800's, when "the wise, the rich, and the well-born," that is, the Federalists, frightened out of their wits by the excesses of the French Revolution abroad and Thomas Jefferson at home, enacted the Alien and Sedition Laws.

The second example came in the 1850's when the slaveowning South, convulsed by fear for the "peculiar institution," drove out those who criticized it, gagged the press, censored the mail, purged colleges, and, in the end, seceded from the Union.

In the third example, in the 1890's, respectable gentlemen, especially in the East, deluded themselves that the Populist party was made up of anarchists, that all labor leaders carried sticks of dynamite in their pockets, that Peter Altgeld was a new Benedict Arnold and William Jennings Bryan an antichrist.

The fourth instance of hysteria came after World War I when Americans whipped themselves into a frenzy over a bugaboo of bolshevism sweeping the United States, deported hundreds of harmless aliens, sent Eugene Debs to a Federal penitentiary, purged legislatures of socialists, and spread syndicalist laws and teachers' oath laws on their statute books.

It is a sobering thought that none of these past hysterias was a reaction to anything that really threatened the American Republic, the Constitution, or our democracy and, moreover, that we have acknowledged and repented these mistakes of the past. The Alien and Sedition Acts were repealed and their victims compensated. Southerners are satisfied now that slavery was a great wrong. Practically every plank in the Populist platform of 1892 has since been enacted into law. We are not proud of our record of the twenties.

Yet we have not, it seems, learned anything from history. With all these precedents to give us pause, we are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more violent, more reckless, more pervasive, and ultimately more dangerous than any in our history.

What is the explanation of the present hysteria? Are we, in fact, in danger? Are we disunited, and torn by dissension? The contrary is true. Never before have the American people shown themselves to be so united as in this last decade.

It was not always thus. Jefferson in his First Inaugural Address said this was the only country "where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." But it was not true during the Revolution, when about one third of the American people were loyalist and another third neutral. It was not true during the War of 1812, when large numbers of the people bitterly opposed the war and effectively sabotaged it. It was not true during the Civil War, when both North and South were torn by internal dissension. Yet it is an interesting fact that we fought all these wars without sedition acts or loyalty oaths.

In the First World War there was considerable opposition from pro-German and pro-Irish segments and from unregenerate isolationists, but for the most part Americans were united. In World War II the American people were united as never before. There was less opposition to war, less sabotage than in any previous war. Political parties sank their differences; racial and national groups, labor and capital united.

We emerged from World War II incomparably the strongest, the richest, the best-armed nation on the globe. Nor is our strength purely material or military. We are the oldest republic, the oldest federal system, the oldest democracy, in the world. Our nation, and our Constitution, has withstood the vicissitudes of 160 years. Our people are intelligent and they are moral.

Nevertheless, we see evidences of anxiety and hysteria all around us—in the stir and bustle of Federal and state un-American activities committees, in loyalty investigations, in the purging of schools and colleges, in witch-hunting and censorship, in our frenzy over such silly but innocuous things as the Cultural Conference at the Waldorf, in a hundred other manifestations, governmental and popular. This hysteria has certain marked characteristics:

First, this hysteria is concerned with rooting out subversives generally—a justifiable objective when revolutionary activity has gone underground or into labyrinthine ways. However, the hue and cry goes on without regard for the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI, ceaselessly active in the enforcement of the forty-some laws against treason, espionage, and so on, have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation.

Secondly, the current program is

directed, clearly, toward subversives of the left rather than of the right, toward Communists and fellow travelers or—as the House Committee on Un-American Activities once put it felicitously—against the "New Deal in various shades of Communism." Thus, it is relevant to note that several teachers lost their jobs because of activities in behalf of Henry Wallace's Progressives, but none because of activity for the Dixiecrat organization. Yet it was the States' Rights party that was openly engaged in activities designated by the Attorney General as subversive in its denial of rights under the Constitution.

Thirdly, the drive is proceeding without any clear-cut idea of what it is aimed at. Notwithstanding a decade of intensive concern with disloyalty, subversive conduct, and un-American activity, we do not yet have definitions of any of these terms. The House Committee has not defined them, nor has Congress or the Attorney General. It is easy to sympathize with this situation, for definition of these terms is all but impossible. But the Constitution is clear enough on treason, and so too are existing laws on espionage. Who, then, is to determine, and by what criteria, just what is un-American or subversive?

Fourthly, the campaign against "subversives," like all campaigns of its kind, here and abroad, has an inherent and inevitable tendency to spread out, and, in the end, to proscribe any ideas which the dominant forces in the community may not like.

How else explain the attack on the loyalty of Senator Graham, of North Carolina, in the Senate itself; the proposal of the Regents of the University of Nebraska to bar discussion that may "plant the seeds of subversion"; Louis Bromfield's argument that sale of colored oleomargarine will advance Communism.

What are the fears behind the present hysteria and the dangers created by each of these fears?

First is the fear of Communist infiltration into the Government. This fear has led to a vast and expensive series of investigations into "un-American" activities, plus widely inclusive "loyalty" checks. The shabby antics practiced in the past by the House Committee on Un-American Activities are so familiar that they do not require rehearsal. President Truman attempted to provide the loyalty check with proper safeguards; what is most impressive about it is the paucity of returns so far. Out of 2,500,000 employees checked, fewer than 10,000 required further investigation.

The precise number dismissed for alleged disloyalty or subversive activities, or merely because they were "poor security risks"—whatever that phrase may mean—is almost impossible to determine. It is, ap-

parently, well under 500, though it should be added that an additional 3,000 or so have resigned under investigation. Even more impressive is the fact that so far as the public has been informed none of all those investigated or dismissed has been formally charged with any crime against the United States.

The danger created by this first fear is in the techniques evolved to prevent Communist infiltration. The safeguards that Mr. Truman hoped to establish have proved completely inadequate. It is probably improper to lay responsibility for this at the door of Mr. Truman or of the attorney general; it is rather that disregard of elementary principles of fair play is implicit in any such program. Though we do not, to be sure, know the whole story or even much of it, we do know that the attorney general was authorized to draw up his own list of "subversive" organizations; that organizations thus branded had no opportunity to have a hearing; that the mere creation of such a list introduced to our law the odious principle of guilt by association.

We know something of the kind of questions asked of employees suspected of disloyalty. The first rule adopted by the Civil Service Commission, back in 1884, reads as follows: "*No question in any form of application or in any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning such opinions or affiliations, and all disclosures thereof shall be discountenanced.*"

Yet here are some of the questions asked at loyalty examinations:

What do you think of the third party formed by Henry Wallace? Is your wife a churchgoer? Do you read a good many books? How do you explain the fact that you have an album of Paul Robeson records in your home? Do you believe that Negro blood should be segregated in the Red Cross blood bank? Which newspaper do you read? Would you say that your wife has liberal political viewpoints?

J. Edgar Hoover advised the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board that an employee of that office "is known to have radical tendencies leaning toward Communism. It is further reported that X has studied anthropology and has been affiliated with the NLRB for three years. It was also reported that X visited Mexico City to observe the Presidential election [of 1946] in that country."

A second fear—that Communists or subversives will give away military or scientific secrets—has encouraged the dangerous notion that secrecy and security are synonymous, strengthened the demand for the return of control over atomic energy to the military, given impetus to the recent attack on David

Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and threatened the whole program of scientific research with confusion. That foreign spies are active may be taken for granted; it should be taken equally for granted that the FBI and our military counterintelligence are on the job.

The danger created by this second fear concerns our national security. There can be no secret of atomic energy that foreign, let us say Russian, scientists will not discover. Our security lies not in secrecy but, first, in the preservation of peace, and, secondly, in the encouragement of the best scientific brains in the country to work on atomic energy and other scientific measures. They can work properly only in an atmosphere of freedom.

It is well to remember that the military did not develop the atomic bomb but civilians did; and that scientists, who are presumably as patriotic as Congressmen, are opposed to loyalty checks. Dr. W. A. Higginbotham has noted that 100 competent scientists have been barred from Government work without a hearing, and without reasons. If we discourage or fail to use our available scientific talent, we may find ourselves dropping behind in the atomic race.

A third fear sweeping the country is that of subversive teachings in schools and colleges. Half a dozen states have already enacted teachers' oaths and similar legislation; others may be confidently expected to follow the examples of New York, Illinois, and Washington in proscribing not only Communists but "subversives."

In New York the Board of Regents is authorized to draw on any list prepared by any Federal agency for its own list of subversive organizations. When we recall that the attorney general's and House Committee's lists run to several hundred, and that among these are such harmless organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, we can realize the dangerous potentialities of such a program.

The real danger created by this third fear is that legislatures will produce an atmosphere of suspicion and timidity, that they will discourage independence of thought, original investigation, and association. Before we put a premium on conformity in our schools, we would do well to note the admonition of Dean Wilbur J. Bender, of Harvard:

"The world is full of dangerous ideas, and we are both naïve and stupid if we believe that the way to prepare intelligent young men to face the world is to try to protect them from such ideas while they are in college. Four years in an insulated nursery will produce gullible innocents, not tough-minded realists who know what they believe because they have faced the enemies of their beliefs."

These are some major manifestations of the current hysteria; scores of others could be added, but they would merely elaborate the pattern rather than enlarge it. That there is a pattern is clear; it is a pattern of fear and suppression. The peril is perhaps more serious today than in the days of the Alien and Sedition Acts, for now the whole world is interested in our effort to maintain the traditional liberty with order.

The current program of suppression seriously endangers effective operation of our democracy. It lowers the morale of the civil service, puts a premium there on conformity, and discourages men of real ability from entering Government service. It endangers the morale of American science by putting a premium on mediocrity in a field requiring independence, originality, and full freedom of inquiry and of communication. It strengthens the hand of the military in areas traditionally and wisely entrusted to civilian control.

Since the conquest of Greece by Rome, history has frequently recorded instances where the vanquished have imposed their ideas upon the victors. Will history record that the great American democracy, at the moment of its greatest triumph and its greatest strength, yielded to the thought-control technique of the Japanese, the intolerance of the Nazis, the police-state psychology of the Russians?

Federal Public Housing is now law. The features of this new housing act include the following aids from the Federal Government:

1. Subsidizing of rents for low income families, so that local Housing Authorities may build 810,000 housing units in less than six years.
2. Payment of one third of the cost of slum clearance projects in local communities within the funds authorized.
3. Loans and aids for home building; loans for farm buildings and repairs for farm owners whose homes are not self-sustaining. The law also provides loans to owners of self-sustaining farms unable to get assistance elsewhere.
4. Extension to sixty days of authority to insure private loans up to $2,500 for repairing and remodeling. It will extend mortgage insurance for small homes costing $5,000 or less.
5. Initiation of a research program intended to reduce building cost for all types of construction.

To make this law effective in providing low-rent homes in your community, a local or county Housing Authority must exist or be organized and a plan must be submitted and approved by the Public Housing Administration in Washington, D. C.

Persons wishing to initiate loan programs will obtain helpful information in a pamphlet entitled *A Handbook of Information on Provisions of The Housing Act of 1949*, which is available free from the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, Washington 25, D. C.

Sanctuary

Roads to World Order

Meditation:

Roads have made history—and history has been made by roads. Each of us could name several roads famed across the centuries. The Appian Way was a famous short road—only 350 miles long, but great in historical significance. Then there is the King's Highway, better known perhaps as the St. Bernard Pass. Try to imagine the many missions that have taken courageous pilgrims across the Alps on this road! The Simplon Road from Switzerland to Italy was historically designed as a carriage road, and eventually so desirable to power-minded Napoleon that he paid fifteen million francs for it in order to say who and what should pass over this road. One of the very simple roads, well known to Jesus and his followers, was the Jericho Road which saw the joys and griefs of the Jordan country and knew the daily affairs of Jerusalem.

In our day history has been made upon roads. In his delusions of grandeur Hitler built the Autobahn for the day when one man's power should control the world. Against that—the Burma Road over which the American boys flew war supplies and food to defeat man's power-crazed plans.

Roads! Going where? Making history perhaps, but to what end? Man has created, by his God-given abilities, a chaotic world. What shall he do with it? How shall he control what has already been released over the little roads of Nagasaki and Hiroshima? What road—what way—shall he follow? Where shall he turn for direction and guidance?

Scripture in Unison:

"Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God."—*Isa. 40: 3.*

"And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness."—*Isa. 35: 8.*

"The highway of the upright is to depart from evil."—*Prov. 16: 17.*

"For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."—*Heb. 11: 10.*

"According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon."—*I Cor. 3: 10.*

"Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him."—*Deut. 8: 6.*

"Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."—*Ps. 139: 23, 24.*

"And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."—*John 14: 4.*

"Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me."—*John 14: 6.*

"This is the way, walk ye in it."—*Isa. 30: 21.*

Hymn: "We Would Be Building; Temples Still Undone."

Meditation:

Many years ago one of our great American statesmen, Henry Clay, was crossing the Alleghenies by stagecoach on what is now one of America's greatest roads. At a given place he dismounted from his stage, and went out on a great rock at the very edge of the cliff. As he stood there with his long cloak wrapped closely around him, he seemed to be listening for something. Finally someone asked, "For what are you listening?" After some silence, Clay replied, "I am listening to the tramp of the coming millions of this continent."

Clay was a prophet. You and I are among those millions walking down this road of life. We call ourselves Christians. "What do ye more than others?" Amos said, "I was no prophet, . . . and the Lord took me." So too are we divinely chosen to build the road—the Highway of the King, a highway over which numberless others shall pass. What shall we build for them, that the finest youth of their world may not be sacrificed on the altar of self-indulgence, greed, and hatred; that our recently arrived European brothers may find fellowship and a chance to create a new life; that little children may live in a fear-free world with food, shelter, clothing, education, and freedom to worship God in gladness, as one family?

Prayer:

God, our Father, as individuals we are grateful for the chance that is ours this day to be builders of better roads than history now reveals. Give us conviction and courage and will to be builders of thy kingdom on earth. By word and deed, by teaching and example, may we build roads that lead to freedom and justice for all people; roads that lead to better opportunities for all races; roads that lead to an honest attempt to better world-wide labor relations; roads that lead to personal Christian responsibility for the rapidly increasing liquor traffic; roads that determine our responsibility for electing Christian statesmen to high office, and a concern for all legislation; great roads built on the foundations of understanding and co-operation, leading to full support of the United Nations and to world peace.

Dear God, these roads may not be finished in our time, but help us not to falter in any bit of building which each of us can do in our brief day. Only as we each walk the road which thou didst walk shall a Christian world order be created. Direct our lives to that end, making our feeble human wills thine, that we may actively interpret "thy will be done on earth." Forgive our side roads of discontent, the underpasses of sin, the ruts of small vision, and lead us in accepting thy command, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Amen.

—Prepared by Mrs. Ralph H. Pino, Detroit, Michigan, member of the Board of Christian Education and Chairman of the Committee of Women's Work.

About Books

Mirror for Americans: Japan, by Helen Mears. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

This book is an indictment of power politics as illustrated by the rise and fall of modern Japan. The author's main theme is that Japan was not guilty, as charged, of the crimes of aggression, expansionism, and lust for world domination, but was rather the pawn of Western power politics, encouraged and built up so long as Japan fitted into the Western security system and cast off as a menace when it attempted to practice independently what it had learned from its tutors. The book is in effect a postwar restatement of the "case for Japan" and although biased in viewpoint and polemic in spirit, it contains truth that is needed as an antidote to much of our present-day thinking about Japan.

Miss Mears attempts to show from Japanese history that the premodern Japanese were neither so militaristic nor so expansionist as frequently pictured, and few will disagree with her general conclusions at this point. The crime of post-Perry Japan is that Japan followed to their logical conclusion the policies and methods of trade, war, nationalism, and diplomacy taught it by Western nations. Japan adopted the prevailing nineteenth-century international policies of legalized violence and greed, and up to 1931 was aided and abetted by Anglo-American diplomacy in the use of them.

For many years—to continue the author's thesis—Japan was supported as the stabilizing force in east Asia. It "enslaved" Korea with the consent of Britain and the United States. It was not condemned for aggression in seizing Manchuria and invading China, but for violating international agreements set up to protect the commercial *status quo* in China. Japan's actual aggression in China was in fact carried on with American aid. Pearl Harbor was not a treacherous, unprovoked attack, but the logical action to take after the freezing order of July 25, 1941, and the failure of the Washington peace negotiations. It was not the first step in world conquest but an attempt to reduce our Navy's striking power while Japan set up a co-prosperity sphere in east Asia, which, the author states, was more plausible than the colonial system it was designed to supplant. In short, "Japan's real crime was not that she failed to profit by her first instruction in the ways of Western civilization but that she made good" and "there appears to be no Great Power sufficiently guiltless to serve as her judge and executioner."

Japan, according to Miss Mears, was never a "world menace." Even at the peak Japan was not a military great power. Its campaigns in China were a series of blunders into which it stumbled as its attempts for peace failed. Its fighting men were not last-ditch suicidal fanatics, but bewildered youths acting from hysteria, who welcomed prison camps when assured that they would not be tortured. The Western allies soon discovered Japan's weakness, but for reasons of policy continued the war long after Japan was actually defeated by the cutting of its supply routes. Our subsequent naval campaigns and the fire-bomb and atom-bomb blasting of civilians on the home islands, when peace negotiations were in the offing, condemn us along with the Japanese as savage aggressors.

There is not a point raised by Miss Mears that is not debatable, but the side of the record she presents should be kept before all who hope and plan for a cooperative world order. It is regrettable that the author did not spend less time in polemics and more in developing the implications of her argument for the present day. If it is true, as she states, that the course of power politics in the Far East has run a complete cycle, with the United States facing Russia much as Britain did in the days before the Sino-Japanese War, then a repetition of the old, discredited course of power politics can only result in a third world war, with consequences too terrifying to contemplate. How to prevent such a catastrophe is the question left unanswered by this book.

—Willis Church Lamott.

A Spiritual Approach to the Problems of Peace is the title of a new pamphlet published by the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship Through Religion. It reports and summarizes in stimulating and thoroughly readable fashion the speeches and commission discussion of the three-day Conference of Religion for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations which met in Town Hall, New York City, June 16 to 18, 1948.

From the opening remarks of welcome by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, president of the Church Peace Union, to the closing address by Dr. William P. Merrill the sessions were marked by a sense of responsibility and earnestness. Dr. William Hung, of China, Dr. Taraknath Das, of India, and scores of others contributed their full share.

In preparation for the conference, four commissions were organized. They carried on study and investigation for some months prior to the conference, and presented reports of their findings and recommendations at four of the plenary sessions. Membership in the commissions represented the major religious faiths and many different nations. Among the countries represented were Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, Japan, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, the Republic of Indonesia, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, and the United States. Participating delegates also represented Islam, Judaism, Christianity (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Eastern Orthodox), Hinduism, Buddhism, and Sikhism. All seemed to realize that "mankind as a whole now lives in a state of utmost peril." At the same time there was none of the hysteria so prevalent in too many circles today.

The Town Hall conference was a beginning, a significant beginning. But it was also a hope. In deepest truth, it was a prayer of untold millions who say: "We pray to one God. We are all his children. Why then can we not become one in our common quest for the peace of the earth, his one world?"

—Margaret E. Kuhn.

Above All Nations, an anthology compiled by George Catlin, Vera Brittain, Sheila Hodges, Gert Spindler, Devere Allen. Harper & Brothers. $2.00.

I imagine that many a minister, like myself, wishes that he had kept a record of the dozens of stories of heroic witness and service in behalf of brotherhood that he read or heard during the war.

The thoughtful compilers of this inspiring anthology have made available more than 200 choice stories that are "war stories" only by the fact that the war provided the occasion and background.

Reading the book was, for this reviewer, an experience of meeting many former friends who had slipped away and were all but forgotten.

Here is the moving tale of the American soldier taken prisoner by the Japanese, who, through the singing of hymns, found the tables turned and wound up by re-

turning to his own lines with a whole platoon of Japanese prisoners who wanted to be Christians. Here is the account of the Swedish astronomers who kept the interchange of scientific data between belligerents going throughout the war, and of the program of occupational therapy set up in Germany for blind British fliers who had bailed out from flaming planes over enemy territory. Here is the hilarious story of the French woman who threw a bundle of papers into the face of a "hated" German POW, which he later found to be a camouflaged meal.

The book is inspiring to read. Beyond personal use, however, many ministers will find it useful as a resource book of illustrative homiletic material in the area of human brotherhood and Christian love.

—*Clifford Earle.*

Chinese Russian Relations, by Michel N. Pavlovsky. Philosophical Library. $3.75.

This book deals with what the author calls "a unique phenomenon in world history . . . two empires, both in full swing of expansion, which succeeded in achieving a delineation of their interests and in establishing an extensive common frontier without at any time, over a period of three centuries, having had recourse to war." Such a statement is protected by calling 300 years of armed clashes between China and Russia "conflicts of a transitory character."

It is refreshing to have a book on Chinese-Russian relations based almost entirely upon Chinese, Russian, and French documents, many of them the original accounts of the events under study. From such sources the author, a member of the faculty of l'Aurore University in Shanghai, has culled interesting details of a personal, diplomatic, and military nature which add flesh to the somewhat bare outline of early contacts between these two nations.

Some interesting light is shed on the following points: the similarity of Chinese and Russian interests in the sparsely settled areas to the north and west of China, the identity of Russian expansion patterns toward China under both the czarist empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the role of Mongolia caught in the squeeze between two expanding nations, the influence of the Jesuits in early Chinese-Russian relations, and the role of Russian *émigrés* in China.

This book is by no means complete in its treatment of Chinese-Russian relations, and it has very little value taken by itself and unconnected with more general works on the same subject. Used with other books, it adds the flavor of unusual information, making the whole meal more palatable and digestible.

—*Archie R. Crouch.*

Saving American Capitalism, by Seymour E. Harris. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.

This book is a statement of the 1949 credo of American liberals reviewing the conditions that produced the debacle of 1929, citing the accomplishments and failures of the New Deal, pointing out the sweeping liberalism of the Truman Administration, and giving a blueprint of a program which, the contributors to this volume believe, will enable the United States to meet its responsibilities to our people and to the world.

The liberalism of this book is not that of eighteenth-century thinkers. The modern liberal with A. A. Berle, Jr., as his spokesman says: "For liberals life has both significance and design; there is no anarchy in the universe. Men, in their [liberal] view, are most creative and freest, most useful and happiest, as they realize some unity with the great moral pattern of things. At bottom, liberalism springs from a deep faith in the moral order of the universe. . . . From this proceeds the second great liberal premise: the object of life—political, intellectual, technical—

is to develop people to their highest creative ability. . . . The third premise is unflinching acceptance of the duty to get facts."

Dr. Harris, editor of the symposium, who is professor of economics at Harvard, presents statements from Berle and twenty-three economists, social scientists, and men prominent in public life on various problems confronting the country with suggested solutions. And of all these, the opening chapter by Chester Bowles, advertising man, former director of OPA and governor of Connecticut, presents its basic philosophy.

Bowles believes that government has six main functions: (*a*) the traditional one of maintaining public order, the national defense, etc.; (*b*) as an umpire to keep in check the conflicting demands of business, labor, the farmer, and all of us as consumers; (*c*) provision of services which private capital cannot supply, such as TVA and public housing; (*d*) provision of equality of opportunity; (*e*) integration of imports and exports; and (f) guaranteeing a ready market for the products of factory and farm.

He believes that unless government provides these minima our economic life will break down, depression will produce demands for even more drastic governmental interference, and we shall in truth get more statism. In other words, limited governmental participation in economic and social problems will prevent complete governmental control. Bowles looks to the creation of a "combination economy" such as that achieved in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark where individual liberty still flourishes but with government participating in many phases of life.

That there are spiritual implications in his program is pointed up by his statement of things that prevent our achieving his desired aim: "selfishness, bad economic habits, shortsightedness, greed and economic ignorance." He is silent as to how selfishness and greed—"sin" the Church calls it—can be eliminated.

This is a symposium worth reading. Its historical background is helpful in understanding present crises. Its programs are bold and will perhaps shock and offend some. Others will doubt their practicality. But it should stimulate discussion.

In it we see the New Dealers, denounced as visionary and dewy-eyed but now weathered by the storms of public life, soberly outlining courses of action which they, out of their own experience, feel lie within our capabilities to achieve.

—*John Park Lee.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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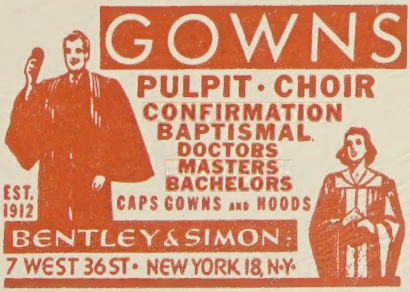

Lo, soul, seest thou not God's purpose
from the first?
The earth to be spann'd, connected
by network,
The races, neighbors . . .
The oceans to be crossed,
the distant brought near,
The lands to be welded together.

—*By Walt Whitman.*